FREEDOM

An Anarchist Monthly

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, No. 16 OCTOBER, 1933 FIVE CENTS

Notes and Comments

Terzani and Art Smith:

"General" Art J. Smith, the scoundrel on whose "evidence" Athos Terzani was indicted for the murder of his comrade Anthony Fierro has been arrested in Philadelphia. He faces a charge of fraud sworn out by an ex-member of his organization. His dupes, who saw themselves as future generals and commandants with the population of the U. S. goose-stepping to their orders and Roosevelt dictator at their command, now find they were only customers for shirts and caps. Were it not that the brilliant young Fierro is dead from an assassin's bullet, and our comrade Terzani faces a possible term of twenty years in prison for a crime for which Smith is responsible, we could laugh at the spectacle of the would-be Mussolinis and Hitlers waking up to find themselves boobs instead of heroes. The sinister side of the entire business is that Terzani is still facing a murder charge for which his accuser is directly responsible and that Smith's dupes were apparently quite willing to commit such murders wholesale at the slightest opportunity.

A. F. of L. Convention:

The recent convention of the A. F. of L. passed resolutions in favor of the 30-hour week, the boycott of Germany—a resolution modified to include all dictatorships, but in reality directed primarily against Hitler's Germany—and declared against inflation. Perhaps as industrial workers they thought it none of their business how the farmers might solve their problems, but it was surely less than common sense to call for a 30-hour week and an increase in wages, which on the face of things means increased costs for everything the farmer will have to buy when already almost half the farmers of the country are threatened with the loss of their farms and homes because of interest charges and taxes they are unable to pay. Inflation may not be the remedy, though it is what the farmer is asking in order to pay off his debts and obtain higher prices, but with a third of the population living on farms some program must be agreed on acceptable to both farmer and industrial worker or the much vaunted N.R.A. will fail, and that within six months. If Mr. Green doesn't know this the sooner he finds it out the better for him and the American Federation of Labor.

Unemployment:

Roosevelt says that four million men and women have been reemployed since March, and Green says 3,600,000. When two presidents such as these disagree to the extent of 400,000 it looks as though someone is guessing, so when they tell us that only 10,000,000 remain out of work facing destitution it is possible to believe that both are special pleaders, whistling to keep up their courage. Whatever the number is, it is a bitter and biting indictment against our civilization; and every man who is a man should strive not only for the alleviation of present suffering, but for a complete reconstruction of our social and economic life to the end that starvation in the midst of plenty will be impossible.

School Teachers and Sweat Shop Wages:

In half the States of this country the average wage of school teachers is $400 a year, less than $8 a week, and yet we prattle of our respect for education. The following gives food for thought:

"The Richest Country Stands Classified

"I have presented examples from countries which in the United States have been regarded from the point of view of education as conservative, reactionary and class-ridden. In none of them can there be found a parallel to the situation in the United States as to the ruthless treatment of children, schools and teachers; in none of them is there an instance of the wholesale dismissal of teachers, the non-payment of salaries and a vast army of unemployed men and women prepared to teach without positions available for them; in none of them have the schools been closed for a single day in order to save money; and in none of them is a pupil of ability deprived of his rightful claim to continued education."

Prof. I. L. Kandel, Columbia University.
Reprinted from *The Union Teacher* for September.

Economic Nationalism:

Holding as we do that decentralization is fundamental to an Anarchist society, it is more than merely

interesting to us to see such widely dissimilar individuals as Roosevelt and Hitler engaged in their different ways in urging economic nationalism as a solution to their problems.

Faced with a situation in which millions of farmers had produced, and stood to produce, more wheat, cotton and other farm products than they could sell at home and with foreign markets practically closed to them, causing great distress to large numbers of people here, Roosevelt turned in the direction of economic nationalism. First by throwing a bombshell into the Economic Conference in cabling the American delegation that the Government of this country intended to try to stabilize conditions at home before dealing with world problems, and then by his speech over the radio on October 22nd, which appeared in the press the following day, he plainly implied the principle of economic nationalism, as can be seen from the following:

"When we have restored the price level, we shall seek to establish and maintain a dollar which will not change its purchasing and debt-paying power during the succeeding generation. I said that in my message to the American delegation in London last July, and I say it now once more.

"Because of conditions in this country and because of events beyond our control in other parts of the world, it becomes increasingly important to develop and apply the further measures which may be necessary from time to time to control the gold value of our own dollar at home.

"Our dollar is now altogether to greatly influenced by the accident of international trade, by the internal policies of other nations and by political disturbances in other continents."

In other words, Roosevelt, realizing that only 8 per cent of the wealth produced in this U. S. of ours is exported, may have thought the provision of peace and plenty throughout the land merely a matter of readjustment. To this end he sought to discourage the cultivation of wheat, cotton, tobacco and other farm products in excess of the demands (?) of the people of the country by paying farmers to diminish their crops and expecting the balance of the population to pay that bribe by means of a processing tax which would be passed on to the mass of the consumers. The N.R.A. and other bills with which readers of FREEDOM are familiar are means to this end.

Hitler, believing with P. T. Barnum that a sucker is born every minute, succeeded in buncoing a fairly large number of the people of Germany into crushing and subduing the balance. But now, finding himself rebuffed by the other powers in his demand for rearmament he is appealing to the nation to make itself economically independent of the rest of the world. Making an industrial nation like Germany over into an agricultural one is no easy task, and it will require persuasion instead of blood and iron to accomplish it; but in view of what Germany did during the war when cut off from other countries he is a daring, if not a foolish, man who would predict that, with sufficient time, it cannot be done.

Thirty-five years ago Kropotkin pointed out in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* that if the average yield of farm products were equal to that of the best farms of the day the land of England could be made to feed a population of 80,000,000 instead of about a third that number, as was the case at that time. That was three and a half decades ago, before the chemical and technological improvements now in use in agriculture had been made. The yield today could undoubtedly be greater.

William Green gave out a statement on October 22nd that 3,600,000 workers had been reemployed since March, "that the dollar increase in total workers' buying power from March to September was 30.7 per cent, but the effect of this gain has been greatly reduced by increased living costs. When the rise in prices is taken into consideration, workers' effective buying power has increased by [only] 20.5 per cent since March. . . . . Had it not been for the increase in retail prices, the increase in workers' buying power would be 50 per cent above this figure."

Of course it would, but when the cost of a quart of milk is 4 cents or less on the farm and 10 or 12 cents to the ultimate consumer fifty miles away, when each person handling it makes not only wages but a profit, no matter how desirable a shorter work-week, it will not take up the slack between what the worker produces and what he receives.

Practically every school of economic thought admits that under our present system the worker or producer cannot with the wages he receives buy back the wealth he produces. If proof is needed, the fact that, according to the most eminent economists and financial experts, this, the wealthiest nation on earth, owes no less than *two thousand million dollars* in public and private debts, that the interest charges continue to increase and must continue to increase these debts, furnishes the answer.

Economic Nationalism based on "commodity dollars" and shorter work-weeks will not solve the problem. There must be redistribution, bankruptcy or revolution. Some of the "brain trust" close to Roosevelt should whisper that in his ear.

The C. N. T. and the Anarchists

By ONOFRE DALLAS

I had thought that my article in reply to Guelfi regarding the abortive Anarchist uprising in Spain would require no further discussion, but since the editor of *Man* with obvious partiality intervenes in the discussion and "dares" me to answer, and as much as demands that I retract my "slanderous remarks directed against Guelfi," I feel compelled to reply again and show where not only Guelfi but also Bertoni and the editor of *Man* are wrong.

I have nothing to retract, but very much to add. I shall let the official organs of the C.N.T. and the National Committee talk for me. Guelfi stated that the C.N.T. in Spain is under the dictatorship of the Syndicalists. If someone in this country were to say that it might be regarded as a mistake. When Guelfi says it (even from jail) it constitutes a slander against that libertarian organization, against the Anarchists who are directing it, and the scores who have died defending its Anarchist tenets. The C.N.T. in Spain is as much under the dictatorship of the Syndicalists as the American Federation of Labor is under the control of the Communists or the Department of Police of Chicago under the direction of humanitarians. As a matter of fact, the present split in the C.N.T. is just because the Anarchists are at the helm. The Syndicalists threaten to secede (and have done so in places) because they charge that the C.N.T. is under the control of the Anarchist Federation. Whether it is under or not, it is certain that all the key positions and the official jobs are in the hands of Anarchists, and not Anarchists in name only, but Anarchists in fact. Furthermore, the recent Regional Congress in Catalonia gave the present Anarchist leaders its indorsement by an overwhelming majority. So much for Guelfi and the editor of *Man.*

As for Bertoni's article, it is as I thought. He discusses ideas. He reasons; he does not throw mud at random. I don't agree with some of his conclusions, but they are mostly matters of details. He is surprised at the statement of the *Bulletin of the C.N.T.*, that the abortive revolution was the work of outsiders to give the government an excuse to "butcher us."

It would be interesting to find out who publishes that Bulletin. It certainly can't be the National Committee (from whose Manifesto of January 10th, right after the attempt, I quoted excerpts in my previous article); it cannot be the Regional Confederation of Catalonia, from whose virile manifesto I also quoted. And as its language is so at variance with that of all the other publications and statements of the C.N.T., I must conclude that it is published by the Syndicalists or the reformist element of the C.N.T. who have lost their positions and the favor of the masses since the publication of that famous manifesto of "The 30." I am not defending the Syndicalists; I am defending the Anarchists who militate in the C.N.T., and their attitude towards things in general and the revolution in particular. Therefore, to convince those who need proofs stuffed down their throats by the carload, I shall quote from the true, real and official organ of the C.N.T. not only of Catalonia but of other regions as well.

A Manifesto of the National Committee of the C.N.T. appearing in *Solidaridad Obrera* of Barcelona, January 14th, and also in *La Tierra* of Madrid, reads in part: "In the recent events the bourgeois press hâve performed the dirty role of cheap buffoons and have had the effrontery to say that the attempt, which was openly and frankly revolutionary, may have been influenced by elements whom they (the bourgeois press) have previously served and would be very glad to serve again) —the monarchist elements. This is the limit to which the mercenaries of the press could go in their degradation. At any rate, we are pleased to note that through the columns of the mercenary papers the people are beginning to see the true role of the official press."

Comrade Bertoni will agree that these quoted words are entirely the opposite of those he quoted from the *Bulletin.* This should dismiss any suspicions that the words quoted by Bertoni originated from the C.N.T. That simply cannot be.

Again, in *Solidaridad Obrera,* (Barcelona) of January 28th, in an editorial, boxed and in bold type, calling the workers to come to the aid of the prisoners, we read:

"They are anarchists, they are revolutionists! —we may be told—Yes! We do not deny it, we shall never deny it. We are also that—anarchists, revolutionists. We are well known to everybody. That is why we cry out and shall continue to do so constantly and for ever, until the prisoners, those victims of capitalist terrorism, are released. And those who rose in arms against the oppressive State did nothing but their right, their duty. The people, this revolutionary people, can not and will not forsake the social victims. If in order to secure their release it is necessary to tear our flesh and shed our blood, we are willing and ready. The victims deserve all that and much more."

Is that the language of cowards? Is that the language of reformists or dictators? I think those quoted lines are mighty eloquent.

The daily "C.N.T." of Madrid, on January 11th, said editorially:

"Revolution is in the air: anyone who does not see it is mentally blind. Perhaps the bourgeoisie believes that last Sunday's attempt was its death rattle. They should take notice that this was only a little skirmish of the advance guard. The bulk of the proletarian army has not entered the field as yet.

"The C.N.T. does not hide its face. Had the movement been the result of an official decision it would proclaim it very loudly. But this does not mean that our organization, always revolutionary, does not look kindly and with sympathy on the brave fighters who have risked everything to com-

(*Continued on page* 5)

FREEDOM

Successor to ROAD TO FREEDOM

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, No. 16

A Monthly Journal of Anarchist News and Opinion

Published Monthly by
Road to Freedom Publishing Ass'n
219 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Address all mail to
P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York, N. Y.

EDITORS
HARRY KELLY M. JAGENDORF

Entered as Second Class Matter January 4, 1933, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Single copies Five Cents; $1.00 a year

The New Terror or The New Nationalism

By M. JAGENDORF

It began magnanimously at Versailles, when the moguls of the world sat around massive tables and listened to Woodrow Wilson, the most misguided dreamer of the age, plead for Little Nations. It was their chance. What misguided idealism! What lack of foresight! For then and there the woes of the world were multiplied and a menace which men had tried for centuries to combat arose again.

Human nature being what it is, all the littleness, all the avarice, all the selfishness that had moved great, powerful, and combined nations were now divided amongst the minor peoples and became more clearly defined. From parts of a unit these smaller groups had become separate units and their selfishness and avarice were thus intensified. A germ which had lain dormant for centuries was reanimated, resulting in the same evils as were seen in Italy and Germany, when each municipality had its individual ruler and was eager to fight with every neighbor.

For centuries peoples had been combining naturally, but at Versailles the idea of union was destroyed out of sheer misguided kindness, with the resultant revival of Intensified Nationalism.

I am not speaking of patriotism, the love which every human being has for a particular country, a particular place, for particular people grown dear by reason of language, art and friendship, an emotion which brings with it love and kindliness rather than hatred and avarice. I am speaking of a nationalism which has reached its culmination in present-day Germany and Hitlerism.

After Versailles came Russia. The Bolsheviks cried out for self-sufficiency and "commercial" independence from the rest of the world. Behind it all was the subconscious striving of the Intensified Nationalism. There was in the air of Russia, in the speech of its people, in its behavior to the rest of the world, a desire for superiority which spread even to communists outside Russia.

The ideal of a world brotherhood through peaceful intercourse rather than the old evil—each country for itself without the aid and influence of the rest of the world—was fast dying out. In its stead a loud cry to build up a nation wholly independent of the rest of the world was to be heard. Avaricious ambitions were hidden by clumsy tricks a child could see through. Men were imported from America to teach the Russians the industrial and commercial methods they did not know. When the Americans were through they were kicked out, and the doors barred behind them. A new barrier was set up, stronger than any Chinese Wall or any protective tariff. There was a five-year-plan, and then another five-year-plan—all to build a Nationalism that was to destroy everything in its path. And besides this, an army was built to murder and destroy in the name of the new ideal.

Next came Italy. Here was a definite advance. The idea of Intensified Nationalism was no longer hidden behind ideals. Mussolini came out with it clearly and directly. He was honest about it, but gave no quarter. Everything in the way had to be destroyed, even as in Russia. Italy was not only to regain the greatness of Ancient Rome but to become conscious of its nationalism as well. In every nook and corner of the country, from the house tops, through loudspeakers and by the printed word, the message was proclaimed: "We must become as powerful—more powerful—than any other nation. Particularly in implements of war for the coming slaughter." The whole nation was set to the task of building up the new spirit of intense Nationalism. And any idea, when it is wished for and worked for long enough, becomes reality.

But it remained for the Prussians to bring this new ideal to its culmination, its perfection. Germany has always possessed the characteristics which it displays so markedly today, but they had been less in evidence since the Kaiser's brave flight to Holland. Commercial greed undoubtedly played a leading part amongst the causes of the Great Slaughter, but Germany's greed for Nationalism—her "Place in the Sun"—was almost equally prominent. Many men realized the horror and peril of this ambition and joined armies in the hope of overcoming it. German madness for pure Aryan domination received a setback. Then came the present wave of perverted Nationalism, and that German Nationalism against which the world had fought saw its chance and came to life again.

Russia had at least an ideal—to make the world more livable for those who had suffered. Italy dreamed of the grandeur of bygone days, talked a great deal and rarely took severer measures against opponents than castor oil. But in Germany, amongst the Aryans, the New Nationalism showed its face openly, and displayed the mailed fist which for centuries has represented Prussia. Anyone opposed to the menace was treated not with castor oil but with iron rods. Civilization, reason, intelligence, brought to being through

(*Continued on page* 8)

The C.N.T. and the Anarchists

(*Continued from page* 3)

bat permanent instituted crime as embodied in capitalist society, those who gave their lives and their freedom for a supreme ideal of liberty."

The above excerpt from an editorial of the official organ of the Central Region, three days after the attempt, shows the exact situation, and is a reflection of the attitude of the whole C.N.T. with regard to the movement. The C.N.T. did not start it, for reasons which are not to be discussed here, but they have not uttered or written a word of condemnation or disavowal of the fighters. The Iberian Anarchist Federation in a recent manifesto published in the same paper takes all the responsibility on itself, and anyone who is not blind with passion and narrow partisanship should see why.

Solidaridad Obrera of Valencia, official organ of the C.N.T. of Levante, published an editorial on January 21st, beginning with these words:

"The liberating revolution has started. One week of hand-to-hand fighting with the enemies and hangmen of the people. What matters it if we were beaten this time! Brute force has won. But the rebel spirit inspires us all—that spirit which is invincible. . . . Those peoples who are already rising, revolutionary and just, have their anarchist consciousness. They have a very different mentality from that of the bourgeoisie. . . . In this hour of trial and daring courage, we the revolutionists place our faith in ourselves and in anarchism."

I could go on quoting from editorials and manifestoes of the various official organs of the C.N.T. to show that the "dictatorship of the Syndicalists" exists only in the minds of those Anarchists who cannot see that other Anarchists, adopting the tactics of the First International have succeeded in building up the greatest anarchist movement the world has ever witnessed. An achievement still more noteworthy when we consider that the world today is in general turning toward the extremes of fascism and communism.

The comrades in general, and a section of the Anarchists in the U. S. in particular should reconcile themselves to the fact that the C.N.T., a revolutionary labor organization, is the creation of Anarchists and has been under the full control of the extreme left revolutionary Anarchists for nearly a year and a half. They should remember that "pure syndicalism" is not to be confused with "anarcho-syndicalism" nor are the Spanish Anarchists who militate in the C.N.T. to be called Syndicalists.

The above article was originally sent to *Man* as it was in that publication that Guelfi, Graham and Bertoni attacked the C.N.T. The editor refused to publish it, but instead, and without my authorization, published a paragraph from a personal letter purporting to be my answer to his and Guelfi's attacks. Unfair, to put it mildly.

Graham has strayed into fields in which he unfortunately happens to be strange. Moreover, he seems to be the dupe of someone who is unusually interested in hurting the Spanish Anarchist movement. But apparently he is the boss of *Man* and is at liberty to use its pages to misrepresent anybody, and to quote paragraphs from Spanish Anarchist writers to prove . . . what? That the C.N.T. has betrayed the Anarchist movement? Nothing of the kind, but to prove that "pure syndicalism" is reactionary and authoritarian, and to imply that the C.N.T. belongs in that class. By that editorial trick he tries to accomplish two additional things, namely, make me appear a syndicalist and Federico Urales, Federica Montseny and Max Nettlau appear as enemies of the C.N.T.

Anyone who has read the articles by Nettlau about Spain knows that he thinks very favorably of the C.N.T. and for those who don't know, Federico Urales and Federica Montseny suffice it to say that the former is the oldest intellectual Anarchist in Spain, editor of "El Luchador" and "La Revista Blanca," and the latter's daughter, author of several books, a fine speaker, and regarded as having one of the best brains in the Spanish movement. Both are Anarchists, pure, simple, without any "taint" of syndicalism. For the benefit of Graham and those who may be misled by his editorial manoeuver, I want to emphasize that both Urales and Montseny are active, militant members of the C.N.T., and among its staunchest supporters. Both belong to the Intellectual Workers' Union. . . .

. . . I wonder what can be the motives of Anarchists who take *one* editorial in *one* C.N.T. paper and disregard the scores of editorials of all the other C.N.T. papers . . . and use it as a banner of shame for the entire Anarchist movement of Spain, the only country in the world in which the Anarchists are really a factor. Whether Graham and those who feed him the adulterated news of Spain want it or not, there is no other Anarchist movement in Spain than the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., the former of which is the economic expression of the latter. Are the tactics of the Spanish Anarchists not correct, are they wrong? Very well, then. Let us discuss their merits and demerits. That would be quite a different matter.

An Industrial Unionized Conference

By T. H. BELL

FREEDOM is to be congratulated, I think, on that fine article in its August number written by Donald Crocker on "The Servile State." I do not myself see the situation as quite as desperate as does he. Of course the workers must not expect to get anything for nothing; though I myself scoff at the notion of any desplaid scheme to enslave them, it is plain that the government which is shortening the hours, ordaining minimum pay, insisting on the right to form unions, will naturally expect them to behave nicely and accept government settlement of all disputes. Unionists are being given a great opportunity, but their unions, it is understood,

(*Continued on page* 6)

An Industrial Unionized Conference

(*Continued from page* 5)

are to be tame. No doubt; but it does not follow that they will be. We have had compulsory arbitration in Colorado and in Australia, and tameness was not much in evidence. It is indeed necessary to call attention to the danger, but I think we need not as yet lie awake at night because of it.

I am glad that Comrade Crocker liked "the ringing call to action" of my manifesto of the Revolutionary Syndicalists of Los Angeles, published in the May FREEDOM. I feel flattered, in fact, for though the ideas were all put before me by the boys who signed it, it was I who finally licked their language into shape. But, alas, I must tell you now that however "ringing" it may have been nothing came of it, no response at all. We cannot always have what we would like; we have often to take just what we can get.

So I am writing now about another attempt that is being made in Los Angeles. Joe Ettor, of the famous Lawrence Strike, and Mortimer Downing, prominent in the old I.W.W. struggles—a seven-year man at Leavenworth, and a member of our Libertarian Group —both of them men of the longest experience and the very best judgment, are the two best known among a number of good comrades now making an attempt of the same nature but on other lines—an attempt at getting together ultimately, by means of correspondence and propaganda, a convention of the Industrial Unions already in existence with a view to united action and progress.

It is not an attempt, you see, to start a new movement. Such attempts are being made just now, several of them a week, and so far are merely adding to the confusion. Nor is the attempt one to revive the I.W.W. The I.W.W., alas—I hate to say it—now seems to me beyond revivification despite the many brave fellows still working for it. It is hardly worth while for Donald Crocker to tell us of "its dilemma." It did in its day magnificent work. It might have done even more if it had not been so fanatically insistent that the industrial workers were to do it all. That boldly defiant attitude was indeed necessary to inspire in those who till then had been the humblest workers—courage and self-respect. And none of us wept many tears when some old curmudgeon of a farmer who wanted to feed, lodge and treat his harvest men like dogs and to pay them next to nothing, found himself handed a dose of sabotage. But then, some of the wobblies wanted to sabotage all alike, to tell the farmer that they were doomed to disappear and that the Wobblies were going to take it all over. It is the Wobblies who are disappearing, not the farmers. Thirty-three millions of farming population, most of them working farmers and their families, are too many to be rubbed out—no, we must be able to count on quite a lot of them if when the revolution comes the people of the United States are to continue eating. [It is idle, however, to bother with the mistakes of the I.W.W.—its main mistake was merely to be born thirty years too soon—we should rather be inspired by its valor and devotion.]

Reflect on the old motto "They never come back." The "Four Treys" are not in this anyhow—as yet. There is quite a nucleus of industrial unionists besides these. The Progressive Miners, with 30,000 members, is the best known of the industrial unions, but there are some 150,000 to 200,000 people in all organized on these lines already. For the last thirty years all intelligent unionists have favored that form of union organization, though it is bitterly opposed by the piecard artists who fill too many of the posts in the A. F. of L. craft unions. The tendency of the new unions coming into being on the encouragement of the N.R.A. is distinctly in the industrial direction. Johnson, the administrator, himself calls the craft unions obsolete.

Well, the job of our organization is to get in touch with those industrial unions already existing and bring them into a common consciousness. That cannot be done by manifestoes, however ringing; secretaries too often just drop them into the wastepaper basket, or the executive committee just has them filed. The task is to find in each union some active and determined individuals who will take the matter up and force it continuously upon the serious attention of their fellow members. I did not include in my estimate of industrial unionists the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, but any sympathizers in it should get on the job too. [Editor's Note: Perhaps this was written before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were admitted to the A. F. of L.] It will take at least a year, probably two, to get together enough unions to make a respectable convention. At that Convention they will adopt whatever declaration or constitution suits them; our job will be done and we shall cease to exist.

The response has already been quite promising for people with patience and perserverance.

Meanwhile, let any of your readers who are interested get in touch with us for further information. Address: The Industrial Unionist Conference, P. O. Box 1013, Los Angeles, Cal.

Please note that in anything I have said about the I.W.W. I wrote as an individual not as a member of the Industrial Unionist Conference.

BOOK REVIEW

Bankers vs. Consumers, by Guy W. Mallon, John Day Pamphlets. 1933. New York.

To those who, like myself, have paid scant attention to the money question, *Bankers vs. Consumers*, by Guy W. Mallon comes as a distinct contribution to the ever-growing body of literature on social problems. It is simple, direct and to the point. Devoted to finance and economics it should clear up many debatable points in the minds of those now confused by the details of banking and its relation to the present, and possible future, world crisis. Like most important problems this one is really quite simple, or Mr. Mallon makes it so. The only reason it may continue to appear otherwise in the face of all the logic to the contrary is that the average man won't bother to figure it out.

When President Roosevelt pointed out a few months ago the impossibility of paying hundreds of billions of dollars worth of debts in gold, with not more than nine billion gold dollars in the world, it was like telling the average Englishman that Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays—it was not a fit subject for discussion. It was, as Sorel would say, a "social myth" based upon the theory that only a very small proportion of those debtors would ask for their money at the same time.

Mr. Mallon tells us that in normal times the Government has less than five billion dollars in currency outstanding and that the banks with their checking system provide another forty billion, sometimes running as high as twelve to fifteen times the amount of actual currency. Thus less than fifty billion dollars is turned over from fifteen to twenty times during the course of a year to transact a business that runs up to as much as seven to nine hundred billions.

"The banks control the issuing of money in spite of the fact that the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have the exclusive control of the issuing of money and the regulation of the value thereof."

In a chapter entitled "A Trading Circle", Mr. Mallon draws an imaginary picture of the situation: "Of a thousand persons skilled in various occupations, including farmers and other owners of goods [they] decide to unite their unused margin of capacities, [and] issue credits to the members severally, according to their respective contributions, wherewith to trade with each other.

"Reckoning a probable turnover of such trading credits at twenty times a year the proponent suggests an issue of $200,000 in scrip in suitable denominations, adequate for $4,000,000 of transactions. The scrip would be apportioned to each member in sums at one-twentieth the estimated value of his yearly contribution of goods and services. Thus each would get his share of the credit owned by the Trading Circle, which would constitute a claim on the goods-and-service unit, in varying amounts at an average of $200 in scrip apiece."

This is what may be called *social credit*. In other words, when, as in 1929, the income of the people of the U. S. amounted to eighty-nine billion dollars that was the credit of the country for that year; likewise, when, as in 1932, it dropped to forty-five billion, that was the credit for that year. The $200 it is proposed to give out to each member of the trading circle if exchanged twenty times would amount to $4,000,000; as it is estimated that the productive capacity of the U. S. increases approximately 4 per cent each year the amount of scrip or money could be increased in the same ratio. The Trading Circle would supposedly be a self-governing unit whose trustees would issue the money, presumably charging the cost to general expenses. In this way they would not only abolish all interest charges now paid the bankers but would balance the productive forces of the circle by the credit outstanding. If such were the case there would be no such situation as at present, where credit tokens ten or twelve times the amount of actual cash in the banks are issued, banks close and people lose their money when more than a tenth of the depositors call for their funds at the same time.

Stuart Chase in a brilliant introduction puts the matter in a nutshell when he says: "The consumer cannot consume until the private banker is lifted gently but firmly out of the picture. I subscribe wholeheartedly to this, Mr. Mallon's fundamental postulate."

The one fly in the ointment for the Anarchist is the fact that the Government is to control the issuance of notes and credit. Inasmuch as we know government to be the agent of the ruling class it is difficult for us to believe that any government, no matter what, would act differently from any other. Nevertheless, the increasing emphasis of men like Mallon and Chase on the imperative necessity of men consuming, whether or not they produce, is welcome and encouraging. And the chorus of others throughout society for more buying power for the masses and a more equitable distribution of wealth grows daily. It may be as Chase says in his introduction, that: "To establish the right of the consumer to consume will take time—it may indeed take a revolution or two. But if I read the march of history aright, it will not be gainsaid."

We recommend most heartily the reading of Mr. Mallon's book as well as of the *New Democracy* and the literature of the New Economics Group on their theory of Social Credit. —H. K.

The New Terror or The New Nationalism

(*Continued from page 4*)

centuries of striving, have been banished from Germany with songs and feasting to celebrate the coming of the New Nationalism of murder, avarice, and hatred. What will be the next step? Either suicide or the extermination of rats like Hitler and Goering, and afterwards, perhaps, a return to reason through the leadership of those who still hold to the ideal of universal brotherhood.

CORRESPONDENCE

T. L. M.

Your letter will appear in our next issue but, why not let the frost bury its dead?

Dear Comrades: October 11, 1933

You will regret to hear of the death of Jo Labadie. He passed away October 7 at the age of 83. His failing health several years ago terminated an active life among revolutionary circles that lasted nearly 60 years.

Fraternally,

Laurance Labadie

We hope to have an article about our old comrade in the next issue. In the meantime we salute an old warrior and submit the following from his pen.

Waste Not Yourself

When I am dead
Waste not yourself in either grief or joy
because of so,
As I'll not know,
And recompense, the spur to all we do,
Will never come to you,
Except as one in sounding glen bewails or
sings
And echo brings on airy wings
The messages himself sent out.

October, nineteen-leven. Jo Labadie

James Phillips writes a short memoir as a tribute to Philip Grosser, class war prisoner of Leavenworth and Alcatraz prisons who was killed by an elevated train in Boston on October 18th at the age of 42. Memoir will appear later.

"Has Freedom heard that John Henry Mackay died in Berlin on May 16? Nearly all the 'advanced' journals of Europe have devoted long articles to his memory. If Freedom has said anything, I have missed it."

Monaco, France B. R. T.

Nothing has appeared and we hope someone will send in something even though he never recognized us as Anarchists. He fought all his life against authority and for that we honor him and regret his passing.

FUNDS FOR FREEDOM

MONTHLY PLEDGES

Name	*Amount*
Dr. Michael Cohen	$15.00
Harry Kelly	2.00
Dr. M. Jagendorf	2.00
Claire Comorau	2.00
Sarah Cohen	1.00
Minnie Schwartz	1.00
Jack Frager	1.00
Tania Shapiro	1.00
Anna Strahl	1.00
Elsie Kelly	1.00
Izacovitch	2.00
Liza Brilliant	1.00
Sarah Gruber (on an old $5.00 pledge)	.75

Donations	
Echo Vallhalla	$1.00
John Melnick, Providence, R. I.	1.00
J. Wiseman	1.00
Dora Kaiser	.50
Pinchuck	1.00
Vasilefsky	1.00
Anna & Abe	2.00
Union of Russian Workers, Los Angeles	5.00
C. Carboni, New York City	1.00
S. A. Peck, Chicago	1.00
O. Maraviglia Pittston	8.00
J. P. Jurk, Lake Bay, Wash.	1.00
Guy Liberti, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
Dora Pearl, New York City	1.00
Fine, New York City	1.00
Scarceroux	1.00

Subscriptions	
C. Carboni, New York City	1.00
Isaac Vermont, Capetown, S. Africa	4 shillings
John Melnick, Providence, R. I.	1.00
Casper Reihman, Brainerd, Minn.	1.00
Buckie, Seattle, Wash.	1.00

ANARCHIST LECTURES AND OPEN-FORUM

(In English)

FREE WORKERS CENTRE

219 Second Avenue, New York City

Wednesday (Lectures)

November 1—Harry Kelly

Forty Years in the Labor Movement—a retrospect

November 8—Dr. R. Hottorer

Abstract Concepts in Practical Life

November 15—Thomas Wright

Anarchism and Some of it's Critics

November 21—Hippolyte Havel

Anarchist Patriots

November 28—F. L. Bearse

Energy — Time — Economy

Sundays (Open-Forums)

October 29—Donald Crocker

Anarchism and American Traditions

November 5—J. Fraser

Soviets and the Far East

November 12—Abe Grosner

Anarchism in the World Turmoil

November 19—W. Taback

The Passing of Civilization